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vices with which adults protect themselves and their kin from the malignancy of such ghosts. The only person who claimed to have seen a ghost while I was in the community was a boy of thirteen.

There are also cases of frightening that belong to the category of teasing and that have nothing to do with discipline or education. A case of this sort occurred one night. It is whispered that the Hollanders' voices which travel over a single telephone wire strung along the coast are relayed by dead children whose heads the patrolling soldiers collect for the purpose. This superstition is in itself a new bit of folk belief significant of the attitude toward children. One night when a group of girls and boys under ten were walking along the trail, a grown man who had hidden behind a tree jumped out at them, yelling a curse word often employed by soldiers. The children raced home screaming with fear. Later the man who had frightened them stopped at their house and made fun of them for their terror.

Negative controls range from corporal punishment through deception, teasing, and ridicule to the inculcation of fears. Any one of these methods may be linked to another. From them the child learns not only stereotyped social attitudes but also much of the underlying pattern of human relationships.

SEX

The masturbation that little boys pursue so casually and freely during early childhood seems to disappear after the acquisition of a loincloth. At least it is no longer to be observed, and adults say that "children forget about it." I have, however, noticed young boys who have not yet quite mastered the art of tying their loincloths tugging and pulling on them in a manner suggestive of mild masturbation. There is marked modesty on the part of adults about the careful adjustment of loincloths, and as soon as a child wears his first one he begins adopting the same attitude. When a child is careless, he is laughed at and shamed by older children and adults. Within a year or two most children have learned to manage this garment. One of the acts of aggression at this stage of life, and one that may crop up under extreme provocation in adult quarrels, is ripping off the loincloth of one's opponent. Such behavior brings strong condemnation and even physical punishment from adults (see Lomani's autobiography, page 444). Some youngsters have only cast-off pieces of cloth and seem to suffer the same feeling of inadequacy and shame that ragged children experience in our culture.

Sex play during this period is frowned upon by adults, but it un-

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ordered his kinsmen to fetch his son and tie him up. The son, unwilling to submit to this humiliation, armed himself and was prepared to fight. Rather than precipitate violence his father dropped the matter. The young man then left his father and went to live in his mother's village, where he married. After his father's death he returned to his own village and gave his father's death feasts. Even after the father's death, marriage to a stepmother would be considered incestuous. The clarification offered was, "He is the one who must give her death feasts, so it is just as though she were his real mother."

The material on incest is obviously trivial. It was practically impossible to get data, not because the informants seemed shocked, but rather because they showed so little interest and had so little to say about it. The myths and autobiographies are similarly lacking in this theme. Rilpada's dreams and some slender data on Mangma might be interpreted as showing more interest in sisters than in other women. Similarly some of the women's autobiographies indicate marked attachments to brothers. I am quite sure there was no conscious and overt awareness of incestuous attachments in the informants, and their attitudes did not seem to exceed the culturally prescribed loyalty and solidarity between siblings.

In the poorly known and varied origin myths there are some implications of brother-sister incest, but again it is not emphasized. In two versions of a myth dealing with the creation of man, Manimoti and his sister Tilamoti came down to earth from above, but the stories then continued with Manimoti's activities as a culture hero, and Tilamoti dropped out completely. In another origin tale, Manimoti and Tilamoti were two of a number of children begotten by Fuilani and the village guardian spirit. They did not marry. In a quite different type of origin tale, two pairs of brothers and sisters met and established the village of Bakudatang with its two lineage houses. One of the pairs had no mother or father and was supposed to have emerged from a cave. They married and bore children, who intermarried with the offspring of the other pair of brother-sister spouses. The whole tale is obviously fragmentary and is not widely known in Atimelang.

The significance of this lack of interest in the incest motif may be explicable in terms of the general thesis so far presented. If human relationships are on the whole shallow and impermanent, there is less likelihood of incestuous fixations, and when they do occur, they do not touch off a problem common to the majority of the people in the group, so that the chances may well be that even incest themes in introduced origin tales are largely otiose.

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role of satellites, which is a partial abandonment of goal and a partial continuation of childhood patterns.

FINANCE AND ESTHETICS

It is interesting that there are only two areas in which men seem to achieve any degree of esthetic self-expression. Both are indirectly associated with finance. One is gong playing, the other is versification. It will be recalled that gongs are one of the currencies. Whole gongs (*fokung*) are not very fluid as currency since they are prized for ceremonial purposes. Broken gongs (*rai*) are used constantly as small change. Their values range from about fifty cents to several rupiahs. Gong playing begins in middle childhood and may continue throughout life. More often the long, steady gong beating of death memorials (*sinenat*), of lineage house building, and so forth is turned over to boys and young men, but older men frequently experiment with new rhythms or set the pattern for an orchestra composed of mokos and gongs of different sizes.

The connection of versification with finance comes out more plainly than that of gong playing and finance. It is the only form of poetic expression possessed by the people. It is, in fact, practically the only attempt at literary expression of any sort. The preoccupation with finance and even its esthetic transmutations are evident from some of the verses quoted below. The dances last from eight or nine o'clock in the evening until dawn the next day. They usually precede a ceremonial event, with its inevitable financial concomitants. The participants, facing inward, their arms about each other, form a circle on the dance place. They progress sideways.

Any man may begin a verse. The form in which he expresses himself has certain stereotyped limits and a set range of elaborate metaphors, but it is not so fixed that creative leeway is forbidden. As the soloist finishes a verse, he indicates a change in tempo. Thereupon all the dancers join in one of the dozen or more set choruses characterized by syllables which are predominantly meaningless and slightly more rapid in beat. The ability to improvise is highly esteemed. Ambitious young men of seventeen or eighteen years first try to versify in this fashion. An inadequate performance is not publicly ridiculed, but there is a certain amount of snickering behind the performer's back. Those with real ability persist in their efforts and may be admired performers by the time they are in their late thirties or early forties. Abilities naturally vary. By rough estimate perhaps 10 per cent of the mature men are recognized as good singers. A few verses taken at random from

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two dances are given in order to illustrate the flavor of Atimelang's 531
poetic fantasy.

SPIRIT-BIRD DANCE FOR A DROWNED MAN CALLED LAKAMANI 539

Verse 1. A creditor.

Heloma! Helele! Men of Mobi's family!
Tomorrow at dawn your creditors will ask for long treasure;
They will request large wealth.
Toss your creditors' shields;
Strike their bows.*
Creditors will grasp the wealth and turn away.†

Verse 2. A creditor.

When the earth is at dawn,
When the world is light,
Fani, my chief, ask for large wealth;
Request long treasure.
Your creditors, standing in file,
Will hang the roar of a storm ‡ on their shoulders.

Verse 3. A guest.

The sound of your dance rises, your chorus swells.
The sound of it hangs on me; it droops over me.
I blew the fire to give light.
I came to join the dance.
I stand on the edge of your dance place.
I have stumbled through the dark to come stand with you.

Verse 4. A creditor.

Tomorrow at daylight, when the world is at dawn,
If I see something tasty and good,
If I come upon something sweet and good,§
I shall sit upon the verandah of Latawuti ¶
And there pour out tales in your praise.

Verse 5. The debtor-host.

My creditors, you have spoken truly; correct is your tale.
At dawn tomorrow I shall hand you tallies.
I shall set the date of payment.
Go to Latawuti ¶

* Pay them well.
† Be satisfied and leave without further dunning.
‡ Gongs and trophies given in payment; this refers to the sound that gongs and drums make when beaten by satisfied creditors.
§ If creditors are well paid.
¶ Name of creditor's lineage house.

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X159 People Cricket
mango pits and soaked them for three days, then we ate them pounded [35] up or whole. We took banana stalks and roots and mixed them with mango seeds to make the death feasts. One time Fanlang and Lampede went to buy sweet potatoes, cassava, and corn at Pulfoka near Kelulai. They took knife blades, necklaces, and anklets with them to buy food. They bought the whole cassava plant—leaves, stalk, and roots. For a knife blade they got only two or three coast' worth of corn or cassava. For a big necklace they got just ten small ears of corn. Many people had to share just a little corn mixed with many greens. When the men came home, they said, "Now we are hungry, and there are many people sick because of it. Save seeds and plant the cassava stalks." We cut the cassava stalks and the sweet potatoes *into small pieces for planting*. We [36] planted cassava stalks and sweet potatoes, and as soon as they were large enough we cut more shoots for planting. We kept planting corn too until there was much of all foods and people were filled up again.

[I asked how she herself reacted to this.] During this time mother wanted to cut weeds at Rangfui. Before she left she cooked some corn and put it in a basket for me. She said that she and Kawaimani were going to cut weeds and that I must stay behind. I said, "I had better go too because people will come and deceive me and eat my corn." But mother said, "Oh, if people come and deceive you, your father [Manimai, really her uncle] is a killer and he will come and kill them. You stay. Kawaimani and I will go cut the weeds." When mother left, all my playmates came to play with me. [Question. She was staying at the time with Manimai and his large family. Although the family with [37] whom she was staying would have fed her, her mother said it was [37] proper during a hungry time, or at any other time, to leave food for a child with the host's family.] While we played, we talked of the cat's coming. [Here she repeated the children's story of the cat's coming [35] nearer and nearer. She gave all the place names from Likuwatang to [38] Atimaleng until the cat entered the house and the children screamed. This was a favorite scare story for children. Lomani had heard it first from her mother, but this time the story was being told by Marata, an older girl. Question.] I was not really afraid of the story; I just pretended to be frightened.

[I asked whether she remembered being very sick. This was an attempt to get the story of her badly scarred mouth.]

When I was small I wasn't sick. I got sick after I married, when my husband was already dead and my child was still small. I wanted to come back here, but my mother-in-law said, "No. I am your mother

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159 much concerned about it, and wanted to know the details from the interpreter. She could not tolerate any other woman's edging in on what she thought was for the time being her exclusive prerogative. On this occasion she narrated a dream she had had the previous night. In the dream she wants to cut some bananas from a tree. Then she observes feces near the bananas. She says to an older female companion (undoubtedly the ethnographer), "Oh, we wanted to eat these, but someone has defecated near them." She then asks her husband to cut bananas from another tree. He does so, but she is still dissatisfied. Her husband says, ". . . save them. I shall hunt and see if I can find a dog to eat with them."

She evidently fears that someone may interfere with her position with the ethnographer. This position is represented by an eating symbol, a [262] banana. But bananas are commonly regarded as children's food. We cannot account for the particular representation of the interference, [98] feces. From Alorese folklore, however, we learn that feces in place of food is the commonest representation of maternal frustrations. See the story on page 58, and also the autobiography of Kolangkalieta.) Kolmani becomes vindictive and starts putting her husband through his paces to satisfy her whim. Her husband here, especially in her constant bullying of him, is clearly shown in the role of a buffer against her deep sense of frustration. The ethnographer is undoubtedly the idealized, powerful mother, whose support is threatened by interference from another woman.

In several of Kolmani's dreams in which she appears helpless, there is always somewhere a note of, ". . . but I can strike back." In other words, she is a deeply insecure person, but one who has developed a sufficient number of aggressive defenses to act as counterbalances. With this autobiography contrast Lomani's, where the collapse of the ego is complete, or Kolangkalieta's, where the defeat is masked by an assumed imperturbability.

If we contrast Kolmani with Tilapada, we must note the absence of masculine fantasies in Kolmani. In Tilapada the masculine attitude was fostered by two trends cooperating, one based on her grievances against her mother, the other on a strong attachment to her brother, whom she wished to emulate. In Kolmani the grievances were spread over a series of guardians, while her mother, with her supernatural powers, became the idealized protector. Kolmani early identified herself with her mother and evidently has continued to do so all her life.